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ABSTRACT

This document contains three papers on human resource development (HRD) and trust in organizations. "Organizational Trust: An Orientation for the HRD Practitioner" (Christina L. Lafferty, Brad D. Lafferty) reviews research on organizational trust that was conducted with a focus on cognitive-based theories, affect-based theories, and combined cognitive- and affect-based theories. The paper explores what studies based on these theories have contributed to HRD knowledge about the mechanisms of organizational trust and the relationship between organizational trust and performance. "A Conceptualization of Interpersonal Trust in the Workplace" (Sandra L. Williams) examines the existing literature on interpersonal trust in the workplace and develops a conceptual framework for understanding interpersonal trust in work settings. The framework includes consideration of the multidimensional characteristics of personal trust as well as the antecedents to and outcomes of interpersonal trust. "Organizational Trust and Attachment to an Immediate Leader: A Pilot Study" (Colleen E. Duffy, Christina L. Lafferty, Brad D. Lafferty) reports on a pilot study that examined the organizational trust scores of individuals having positive attachment to an immediate leader and demonstrated that attachment to an immediate leader does not significantly affect organizational trust scores. All three papers include substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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Trust in Organizations

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Organizational Trust: An Orientation for the HRD Practitioner

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Recent studies have pointed out the importance of organizational trust as a driver of organizational performance and, ultimately, organizational success. This review of literature on organizational trust examines the theory and research from a Human Resource Development (HRD) point of view. The results focus on cognitive-based theories, affect-based theories, and combined cognitive- and affect-based theories. A recent fusion approach is also presented, followed by a review of pertinent empirical research on organizational trust and performance.

Keywords: Organizational Trust, Trust Theory, Performance

"Today's leaders must not only have the stature to attract top talent, they must have the kind of character that retains it. Talented people have options. They can walk out the door at any time…A key attribute of this new kind of leader is the ability to generate and sustain trust."

Warren Bennis, 1997, Industry Week

A recent study by Watson Wyatt Worldwide (2000), revealed that of 7,500 employees surveyed at all job levels and in all major industry sectors, only *half* trust their senior leaders. Yet such trust, Watson Wyatt argues, is one of the seven key drivers of employee commitment and, thus, of performance. In fact, trust in senior leadership among those firms studied correlated with a 108 percent return to shareholders, as opposed to a 66 percent return among those firms having low employee trust in senior leaders.

We in HRD practice within economic communities. Francis Fukuyama (1995) notes that "in all successful economic societies these communities are united by trust" (p. 9), trust which "has a large and measurable economic value" (p. 10). Trust is a viable concern for HRD because it "does not reside in integrated circuits or fiber optic cables…trust is not reducible to information" (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 25). In short, trust is about people. Nor is this link between trust and economic performance cause for HRD practitioners to view organizational trust as anathema, despite recent debates on performance-based practice (Holton, 2000). We firmly agree with the assertion that HRD "can elevate human potential and enhance the human experience by focusing on both performance and learning" (Holton, 2000, p. 63).

Clearly the time has come for HDR practitioners to turn our attention toward organizational trust. Problematically, however, organizational trust is a phenomenon that until recently has at best been approached obliquely through trust studies in HRD's root disciplines: education, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and management. What we know about trust, organizational and in general, has never been integrated from an HRD perspective, and, consequently, its functional role remains virtually unexplored. Our purpose here, then, is to examine organizational trust related to three questions. The first forms our theoretical frame for the review: *What typology of trust offers HRD practitioners the most useful framework for organizing and understanding organizational trust theories?* The second organizes selected seminal literature to frame what we know to date: *How has organizational trust theory evolved, as framed by the selected typology?* The final pragmatic question is: *What is known about the role of organizational trust in performance?*

Methodology

The methodology used was content analysis of literature related to organizational trust. Levin's (1999) work first piqued our interest and served as a jumping-off point. In addition to pursuing the avenues related to HRD that her work offered, we searched the following databases: ABI/Inform, Dissertation Abstracts International, Educational

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Resources Information Center, PsychInfo, and Sociological Abstracts. Keywords included trust; organizational trust; trust and organizations; trust and management; trust and leadership; trust and research; and trust and theory. Reference lists of selected articles were examined for additional literature until we hit a repetitive saturation point. Literature was considered for inclusion from three standpoints: relevancy to organizational trust, relevance to HRD practice, and rigor. Specifically, we included articles from juried journals as well as work by authors considered by credible researchers to be seminal in the study of trust. Two dissertations were included based on their rigor and relevance to the subject as framed for this paper. We should mention that the exemplars presented here by no means represent all the work on trust or organizational trust. Space limitations necessitated a tight focus; what we present here is primarily an introduction to the field.

Theoretical Framework

Typologies of trust abound; many overlap, containing multiple elements of HRD's core disciplines. Most of the early ones were limited to interpersonal trust. Golembiewski and McConkie (1975), for example, focused on interpersonal trust operating on multiple levels interpersonal, group and organization. They characterized trust as "strongly linked to confidence in, and overall optimism about, desirable events taking place" (p. 133) and as "a salient factor influencing central dynamics in the full range of social systems" (p. 177). Cook and Wall (1980) looked at interpersonal trust in the workplace. Through this venue, they determined that studies of trust may be characterized by three approaches: indirect, situational, and self-report. From a slightly broader perspective, Hosmer (1995), examining trust as a link between organizational theory and ethics, sorted the trust literature into five categories: individual expectations, interpersonal relations, economic transactions, social structures, and normative philosophy. Weidner (1997) took a definitional approach, sorting 62 definitions of trust into six categories: trust as *attitude*, *belief*, *expectation*, *behavior*, *attribute*, and as a *multidimensional construct*. British management researchers Clark and Payne (1997) approached the trust literature from four theoretical orientations: personality theory, experimental orientation, sociological theory, and organizational theory.

The theoretical framework used in this literature review comes from recent work by Levin (1999) based on McAllister (1995), which offers the most useful way of organizing trust literature from an HRD standpoint because it synthesizes preceding typologies. McAllister's research revealed two distinct types of trust: affect-based and cognitive-based. Retrospectively, it is possible to distribute the trust literature into three categories: the cognition-based approach, the affect-based approach, or the combined affect- and cognition-based approach. The cognition-based approach focuses on expectations, weighing options, and making conscious choices. Firmly rooted in the Western tradition, it is an outgrowth of the Greek principle of self-interest. The affect-based approaches focuses on feelings related to trust, such as confidence, warmth, acceptance, and security; while not exclusively Eastern, it does allow for elements of the Eastern tradition in the exploration of trust. The combined approach considers both rational and emotional elements. Levin (1999) notes that "although cognition- and affect-based trust may be loosely coupled, each form of trust functions in a unique manner and has a distinct pattern of association to antecedent and consequent variables" (p. 27). The typology is not limited to a single level of analysis, nor is it overlapping except in a most deliberate sense. Further, while it recognizes the formal study of trust as rooted in psychology, it categorizes a vast body of cross-disciplinary literature in a we find more practical for the HRD practitioner than a typology based on HRD root disciplines.

Results

The Cognitive-based Approach to Trust

The idea of inferring trust from behaviors is at the heart of the earliest studies of trust. Social psychologist Morton Deutsch (1958) offered a seminal definition of trust that founded the cognitive approach to the construct:

> An individual may be said to have trust in the occurrence of an event if he expects its occurrence and his expectation leads to behavior which he perceives to have greater negative motivational consequence if the expectation is not confirmed than positive motivational consequences if it is confirmed. (p. 266)

In *Perspectives on Social Power*, William Riker (1974) expanded the notion of trust as cognitively-based:

> (1) Trust is an action, a piece of behavior, something somebody does. It is, of course, an internal event like choosing, judging, preferring, etc. and cannot, therefore, be directly observed. But internal events result in external actions (e.g., speech and movement), and from these one infers the internal behavior.
>
> (2) Trust is a decision to be dependent on other people. It can be contrasted, therefore, with various kinds of self-reliance.

(3) Furthermore, trust involves risk, since the other people on whom one has decided to depend may or may not prove worthy. These last two features are what make the act of trusting such a complicated event... (p. 65)

Rotter, a contemporary of Deutsch, examined interpersonal trust from the social learning perspective (Rotter, 1954, 1966). He defined trust as "an expectancy held by an individual or a group that the word, promise, verbal or written statement can be relied on" (Rotter, 1967, p. 651; 1971, p. 444). Studies using Rotter as a theoretical framework have pointed out the correlation of trust to influence, internal locus of control, low need to control others, high self esteem, and openness to others' influence (Frost, Stimson, & Maughan, 1978); and gender differences in trust and interpersonal functioning (Heretick, 1984).

Zand's (1972) discussion of trust is firmly rooted in Deutsch (1957, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1973), containing the elements of vulnerability, external locus of control, and a situation in which the penalty for abused trust is greater than the gain from fulfilled trust. Trust, he asserted, influences and is influenced by three cognitive-based factors: information, influence, and control. Over time, the interaction among the constructs reaches equilibrium. Ultimately, trust reduces social uncertainty (Zand, 1997).

Gabarro's (1978) cognitive take claimed that trust develops over time and is based in three cognitive delineators: character, competence, and judgment. Gambetta (1988) examined trust as linked to situations in which there is no time to monitor. He agreed with Zand (1972) and Luhmann (1979) that trust is related to the degree of uncertainty. Recently, theorists (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996) have used Gambetta (along with Luhmann) to support the theory of swift trust, where members of temporary groups in a unique situation exhibit behavior that presupposes trust, but without the traditional sources of trust.

Butler (1991) took a situational approach to trust in developing his trust instrument, the Conditions of Trust Inventory (CTI). The CTI was derived from his earlier research on situational trust in specific others (Butler, 1983, 1986; Butler & Cantrell, 1984). Butler, building upon Gabarro's (1978) work, identified ten conditions of trust: availability, competence, consistency, discreteness, fairness, integrity, loyalty, openness, promise fulfillment, and receptivity.

Up to this point in time, most of the literature on trust focused on individual or interpersonal trust with an occasional nod toward group trust (Gibb, 1965, 1972). In 1995, Hosmer undertook a thematic review of trust literature with the express purpose of looking at organizational trust. She then derived the following cognitive-based definition of organizational trust:

> *Trust* is the reliance by one person, group, or firm upon a voluntarily accepted duty on the part of another person, group, or firm to recognize and protect the rights and interests of all others engaged in a joint endeavor or economic exchange. (p. 393)

Similarly and concurrently, Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman (1995) approached organizational trust along these cognitive lines. Their definition echoes Hosmer's:

> [Trust] is the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party. (p. 712)

In addition, like Hosmer, they incorporate concepts into their model recognized by prior theorists as important to an understanding of trust: vulnerability (Rotter, 1954, 1966, 1967; Sabel, 1993), expectancy (Deutsch, 1958; Rotter, 1954, 1966, 1967), and monitoring (Gambetta, 1988).

The Affect-based Approach to Trust

Philosopher Trudy Govier (1994) says that "trust is an attitude based on beliefs and values and typically involving feelings and implying behavior" (p. 238). Affect-based trust theorists see trust as based on feelings, attitudes, and emotions. The earliest affective trust theorist was Gibb (1965, 1972, 1978). He tied trust directly to feeling; moreover, he saw trust as important to organizations, especially in relation to groups within the organization. His theory of trust focused on four affective variables: trust, openness, realization, and interdependence.

Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna (1985) designed a model of affect-based interpersonal trust. Their component theory asserts that trust is based on experiences. Depending on what stage the relationship is in, the experiences upon which trust is based change, as does the interpretation of those experiences. Trust has four critical elements: 1) it evolves from past interaction; 2) it involves attributions made regarding reliability and dependability; 3) it involves a willingness to risk; and 4) it is "defined by feelings of confidence and security in the caring responses of the partner and the strength of the relationship" (p. 96). From these elements, Rempel et al. (1985) derived three components: predictability, dependability, and faith.

From a fourth affective perspective, Sabel (1993) defined trust as "the mutual confidence that no party to an exchange will exploit the other's vulnerability" (p. 1133). It is a precondition of social life that is both cultural and malleable, depending "on the actors' reinterpreting their collective past...in such a way that trusting cooperation comes to seem a natural feature, at once accidental and ineluctable, of their common heritage" (p. 1135). In short, trust becomes possible in likely situations because reframing makes it "feel" natural.

The Combined Affect- and Cognitive-based Approach to Trust

Like many of their predecessors, Golembiewski and McConkie (1975) focused on interpersonal trust. However, they determined that trust was both an affective and a cognitive construct. They characterized affective trust from an organic perspective. Trust is "nurturant sun" (p.134): warm, accepting, and nurturing. Trust is "necessary rain" (p. 135): uncertain, implying risk. Finally, trust may bear "fruit" that is "dysfunctional or even pathologic" (p. 138): inflexible and rigid regardless of context or situation. From the cognitive standpoint, they emphasized Zand's (1972) concept of trust as a having a spiral reinforcing quality between trusting behavior and risking behavior.

Some sociologists also took a combined approach to trust. In 1985, working heavily from Luhmann (1979) and Barber (1983), Lewis and Weigert (1985) argued that trust functions primarily as a sociological construct rather than as a psychological one. They assert that trust has three bases: a cognitive process basis, an emotional basis, and a behavioral enactment basis.

Trust in Organizations

It was not until the 1990s that theorists looked at trust specifically within the organizational context. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman's (1995) affect-based model of trust looked at dyadic trust between individuals within an organization. Jarvenpaa, Knoll, and Leidner (1998) applied the model looking at trust between groups within an organization. Still others (Ring and Van de Van (1992) looked at organizational trust in the establishment of strategic alliances, applying this viewpoint to sub-units within complex multidivisional organizations.

McAllister (1995) was one of the the first to wed organizational trust (from the interpersonal perspective) to an affect- and cognitive-based model. He examined the role of trust in interpersonal cooperation between managers and professionals in organizations and created a model that depicted linkages between the two types of trust, their antecedents, and their outcomes. What made this model so interesting and significant is that McAllister incorporated most of the major themes of trust that previous theorists had addressed. Moreover, he integrated them in such a way that the dynamic nature of trust became evident. This was the first effective integration of the psychological and sociological dimensions of trust.

Though Levin (1999) typed Cummings and Bromley (1996) as cognitive-based trust theorists, a close examination of their model reveals that they are, in fact, proponents of the combined approach. They operationalized organizational trust in three ways. "Trust," they define, is

> ...an individual's belief or a common belief among a group of individuals that another individual or group (a) makes good faith efforts to behave in accordance with any commitments both explicit or [sic] implicit, (b) is honest in whatever negotiations preceded such commitments, and (c) does not take excessive advantage of another even when the opportunity is available. The rationale for this definition for trust rests on the socially embedded, subjective, and optimistic nature of most interactions within and between organizations that involve trust. (p. 303)

They developed the Organizational Trust Inventory (OTI) to measure trust between units in an organization or between organizations themselves. The OTI measures trust across three dimensions: keeps commitments, negotiates honestly, and avoids taking excessive advantage.

A Fusion Theory

Recently, Sashkin (1996) fused elements of the three approaches to trust -- affective-based, cognition-based, and combined affect- and cognition-based -- into a single, integrated theory of organizational trust. He defined organizational trust as "the trust that employees feel toward management and the degree to which they believe what management tells them" (Sashkin, 1990, p. 6). The elements of feeling and belief denote both affective and cognitive elements. Levin (1999) explained that "the *confidence* felt by employees represents the affective element of trust, and *belief* in what management says represents the cognitive element of trust" (p. 42).

Sashkin's interest is clearly organizational; specifically, he focuses on how individuals within the organization and in the aggregate perceive the behaviors of senior- and executive-level managers (Levin, 1999). Moreover, Sashkin considers trust integral to leadership. In his Visionary Leadership Theory (Sashkin, 1996b), trust corresponds with *credible leadership*, one of four transformational leadership behaviors. The source of organizational trust is senior- and executive-level management (Sashkin, 1996), which aligns with other theorists who support the central role of management, especially top management, in developing trust (Cohen & March, 1974; Creed & Miles, 1996) and reducing ambiguity (Sako, 1995). What delineates Sashkin's construct is that it employs an organizational level of analysis by looking at the behaviors of senior and executive level managers *as a group*. It is the behaviors of leaders at the highest organizational levels that serve to establish a climate (Denison, 1996) of organizational trust (Sashkin, 1996). By engaging in behaviors that strengthen confidence and belief in top management, these senior leaders increase feelings of security (Rempel et al., 1985) and reduce employees' feelings of ambiguity, feelings with both an affective and cognitive component Ambiguity reduction functions cognitively to improve efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity, and affectively to reduce employee stress (Levin, 1999).

Sashkin and Levin developed the Management Behavior Climate Assessment (MBCA) (Sashkin, 1996; Sashkin & Levin, 2000) to measure organizational trust. Its consistency scales consider how senior executives act toward different people, what they tell different people, how they act at different times, and what they say at different times. The credibility scales assess the match between executives' words -- what they say -- and past actions, future actions, promised actions, and future outcomes. To date, it is the only instrument that measures organizational trust at the organizational level of analysis, to include trust of aggregated individuals of the organization as a whole and trust of groups within the organization of the organization as a whole.

Trust and Performance

Virtually every organization today is seeking ways to address problems that affect performance. More than forty years ago, Likert (1958) stressed the importance of considering human factors when discussing measures of organizational performance. He specified levels of confidence and trust (along with motivation, loyalty, communication, and decision making) as key to organizational performance (Garay, 2000). More recently, Bennis (1997) identified organizational trust as a critical factor that may contribute to improved economic performance. Jones and George (1999) offer a symbolic interactionist model postulating that unconditional trust is a mechanism by which organizations can develop unique capabilities that provide an unmimicable competitive advantage; in contrast, Whitener, Brodt, Korsdaarg, and Werner (1998), operating from the perspective of social exchange theory, intimate that managerial trust may be critical for success in interdependent task performance, reengineering efforts, and marketplace positioning. There is, however, scant empirical research exploring the nature of the connection between organizational trust and the effectiveness of the people who make up an organization, or of the organization as a whole. Nonetheless, there is evidence suggesting that a relationship does exist. For example, Zand (1972), in a carefully controlled experiment, showed that higher levels of trust induction in a group resulted in significantly greater group performance as compared with induction of low trust levels. Levin (1999) demonstrated that performance across six organizations was related to organizational trust levels, although this relationship did not reach a level of normally acceptable statistical significance due to sample size. Based on these indications, it is reasonable to assume, as does Hosmer (1995), that if trust leads to greater cooperation among the members of an organization and, in turn, to improved organizational performance, then organizational trust offers a worthwhile opportunity for HRD research.

Theorists seem to agree that a trust-performance link may in fact exist, though they are clearly divided as to the nature of that relationship and how it functions. As we have noted, some empirical research indicates that trust improves performance in groups and dyads; however, the evidence as it pertains to organizations is sparse. More recent studies have pointed to the notion that there is a measurable relationship between organizational level trust and certain organizational performance indicators. In addition to the Levin (1999) findings linking organizational trust to financial performance, Gilbert (1995), for example, found organizational trust to be a predictor of organizational commitment, which is directly related to turnover. Another study (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998) found that trust between customer and supplier organizations correlated highly with performance indicators related to customer satisfaction with supplier performance. The idea of organizational performance as a function of employee trust in senior leadership is prominent in a new study (Davis, Schoorman, Mayer, & Tan, 2000), which empirically demonstrated a significant positive relationship between employees' dyadic trust of a general manager and financial performance and a marginally significant negative relationship to turnover.

While the literature demonstrates that it is reasonable to assume that organizational trust may be related to positive performance outcomes, that postulate has yet to be successfully tested empirically.

Contributions to HRD Knowledge

The study of organizational trust holds great potential for new and significant knowledge associated with HRD practice:

Contribution to Theory. Little is known about organizational trust *per se*. However, several psychometrically sound instruments now exist to measure organizational trust (Butler, 1991; Cummings & Bromley, 1996; McAllister, 1995; Sashkin & Levin, 2000). Judicious use of these instruments may add to what is known about trust at the organizational level of analysis and how it relates to other critical HRD considerations.

Leadership and Trust. Research in organizational trust may help identify linkages between senior executive management behavior and the degree of trust which employees hold in their employing organization. Understanding such linkages may enable senior level executives to select those behaviors that subsequently enhance organizational effectiveness. Moreover, the study may provide a theoretical basis for senior executive development of staff organizational trust.

Mechanisms of Organizational Trust. HRD work in this area may assist in determining actions senior leaders can take to engender organizational trust among employees, thus leading to improvement in organizational performance. This avenue of investigation may also serve to further understanding of causal relationships concerned with a) how leadership behaviors impact organizational performance; b) how organizational trust interacts with diversity factors such as demographic and biographical variables to affect organizational performance; c) the functional relationship between organizational trust and performance indicators related to cost and profit; and d) the function of organizational trust as a lever in the organizational system as a whole.

Conclusion

While the study of trust is not new, research into its explicit role in organizations is a nascent endeavor. Though abbreviated in scope, the literature reviewed here nonetheless demonstrates that there is still much to be learned regarding the functions and mechanism of organizational trust. Expanded research into the manner in which organizational trust affects performance factors and ultimately the financial bottom line is an important first step. We propose that mining the wealth of knowledge that the study of organizational trust offers HRD cannot help but better equip us for the challenges ahead.

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A Conceptualization of Interpersonal Trust in the Workplace

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Presented is a review of the existing literature on interpersonal trust in the workplace. It focuses upon trust at the individual level and conditions trust within a coworker relationship. From this perspective a conceptual framework is presented for the understanding of interpersonal trust in work settings. Following the conceptual presentation, implications for new knowledge and practice in the HRD field are offered.

Key Words: Trust (Psychology), Interpersonal Relations, Trust in the Workplace

With the demise of the structured bureaucracy as an organizational model, the hierarchical ordering of work flows is declining. Collaborative networks where work is cooperative rather than individualistic are an increasingly popular form of organizational structure (Spritzer, 1999). Scholars have widely acknowledged that trust can lead to cooperative behavior among individuals within organizational settings (Mayer & Davis, 1999). Trust in the workplace has also been linked to improved teamwork (Jones & George, 1998), ad-hoc group formation (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996), and increased coordination between managers (McAllister, 1995). Organizations today are looking for tools to understand trust and its impact upon the work groups and networks which increasingly surface in flatter organizational structures (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). Organizations are also looking for ways to promote trust between people and groups to enhance the output created under these collaborative conditions (Jones & George, 1998).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this review is to determine the current state of knowledge of and research pertaining to interpersonal trust in the workplace. The concept of trust in the workplace, and its recognition in an expanding body of literature, demonstrate trust's importance in organizational life. Recent work reflects an interest in trust from both the human resource management and organizational behavior disciplines (McAllister, 1995; Mishra, 1996; Pfeffer, 1998). Additionally, several compendia of literatures on trust have recently been published (see Academy of Management Review, July, 1998; Hosmer, 1995; Kramer & Tyler, 1996) which reflects this increased attention on trust in the workplace in general.

Theoretical Framework

Different theoretical foundations to the concept of trust are present in the literature, but are focused for this review in the behavioral sciences. Despite the foundational theory differences, commonalities for two specific parameters which condition trust are present in the literature.

Theoretical Foundations

The general concept of trust emanates from theoretical foundations in economics, psychology, and social-psychology (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). Economic theory postulates trust as a calculative exchange between parties based upon a rational analysis of the costs and benefits to a transaction (Williamson, 1993). Psychological theory views trust as a belief or feeling originating in early childhood that creates personality differences and influences a psychological condition of readiness to trust (Worchel, 1979). Social-psychology views trust as an expectation of behavior between individuals or between groups of individuals (Deutsch, 1960). In a recent review of trust research, Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer (1998) claimed considerable convergence in the contemporary scholarship on trust as an accumulation of concepts within the same network of ideas, rather than as a fragmentation of the conceptual theory of trust. Theorists from each of the above fields are found to be united on the essence of trust as

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central to the human condition and on the influence trust has upon personal behavior (Hosmer, 1995).

This investigation of the literature focused upon trust at the interpersonal level, adopting the social-psychological viewpoint of trust as an expectancy of another person's behavior. Reflective of both the interpersonal level at which this review focused and the dynamic nature of interpersonal dependence in workplace settings, trust was confined in this investigation to coworker behavioral reliance within a workplace context. Theories on interpersonal trust in other contexts such as romantic or academic situations, were not considered. Likewise, trust at the process level or organizational level (Hosmer, 1995) was not considered.

Conditional Parameters

The general concept of trust is known to be conditioned by the parameters of risk and reliance (Lewis & Weingert, 1985). Despite different theoretical origins, scholars have been cited as fundamentally agreeing upon a general conceptualization of trust that includes risk and reliance as broad conditional elements (Currall & Judge, 1995; Lewis & Weingert, 1985). In interpersonal situations, uncertainty regarding the intentions and actions of an individual is a source of risk (Rousseau et al., 1998), as is ambiguity about future outcomes of the actions of others (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). Reliance involves a willingness toward interdependence between parties (Lewis & Weingert, 1985).

Research Questions

To address interpersonal trust among coworkers within organizational settings, this investigation of the literature sought to determine how interpersonal trust was conceptualized by scholars from a basis within the theoretical framework. The review was guided by the following questions:

How has interpersonal trust in the workplace been defined?

What are the dimensions of trust at the individual level in the workplace?

What antecedents lead to the development of interpersonal trust in the workplace?

What are the known outcomes of interpersonal trust in the workplace?

The existing literature was surveyed utilizing keywords of trust, interpersonal trust, workplace, work organizations, organizations, and work. Searches were conducted in the data bases of ABIinform, ERIC, Wilson Select, and Psychinfo in order to uncover both work setting based trust studies and behavioral science based literature. Identified articles were then screened for approaches to trust at the individual level. Approaches to trust at the group or organizational level were generally excluded as the focus for this review was at the coworker level.

Research Conceptualization of Trust

The literature on interpersonal trust in the workplace revealed some commonalities to the definition of interpersonal trust and its form within professional settings. Additionally, the research revealed characteristics or dimensions of interpersonal trust, antecedent influencers to interpersonal trust, and several outcomes of interpersonal trust.

Definition and Professional Context Influence on Interpersonal Trust

While early researchers lacked agreement on a suitable definition of trust (see Gambetta, 1988; Rotter, 1971), scholars have recently been found to fundamentally agree on a meaning of interpersonal trust that involves a behavior undertaken in uncertain conditions (Rousseau et al., 1998; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). In examining conceptualizations of trust from several researchers, Rousseau and colleagues (1998) found a root assumption that trust is a personal condition that causes action. In general, interpersonal trust was defined as an *individual's behavioral reliance upon another person under a condition of risk* (Currall & Judge, 1995). The terms "behavioral reliance" in this definition reflects the action taken under a personal psychological condition. Further, risk is reflected in the lack of control over the other party (Hosmer, 1995). Dependence upon unknown actions of the other party represent the risk parameter.

Also revealed was some consensus on different features of interpersonal trust within the professional or workplace context. In professional relationships, trust does not involve conditions under which physical harm may occur or life may be lost (i.e. trusting the paramedics in life threatening emergencies). However, variations in the risk and reliance parameters alter the level and potentially the form that trust takes (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). The dynamic nature of the internal workplace is regarded as constantly impacting an individual's psychological intention to accept risk, be vulnerable, and engage in trusting behavior (Rousseau et al., 1998). Therefore, any particular

professional setting and its contextual characteristics are likely to impact the nature of trust which exists (Sheppard & Sherman, 1998).

Multidimensional Characteristics of Interpersonal Trust

Barber (1983) postulated trust as a multidimensional construct, incorporating expectations of two dimensions, competence and fiduciary responsibility (i.e., concern). Later studies (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995), provided empirical support for the concept of trust as a construct composed of multiple dimensions. Recent research has begun to treat trust exclusively as a multidimensional construct (Butler, 1991; Currall & Judge, 1995; Mishra, 1996). This review of the trust literature identified a categorization of four generally accepted dimensions of interpersonal trust. The dimensions are: openness/honesty, competence, caring and reliability (Butler, 1991; McKnight, Cummings, & Chervany, 1998; Mishra, 1996). A comprehensive conceptualization of interpersonal trust, inclusive of the risk and reliance parameters described above and the four dimensions of interpersonal trust discussed below, is shown in Figure 1. Each individual dimension of interpersonal trust is briefly discussed below.

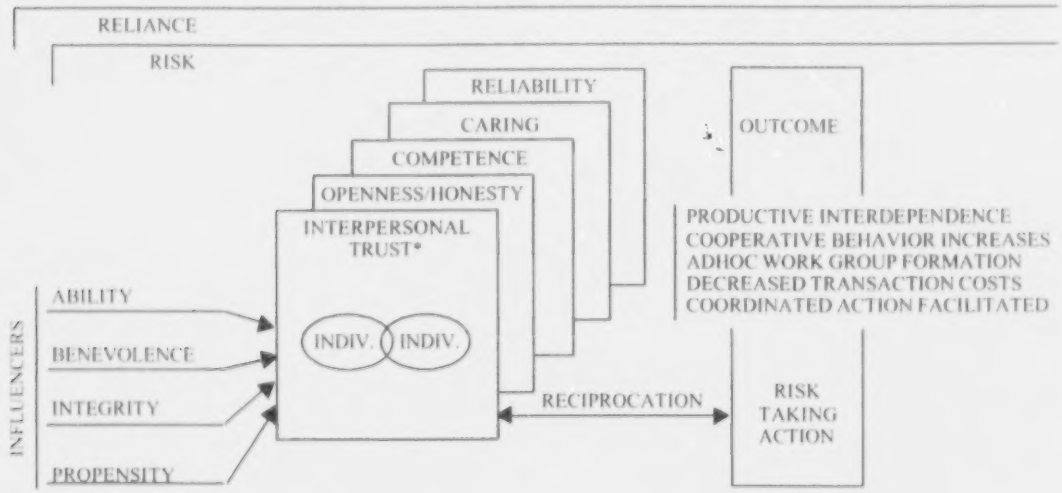

Figure 1. Conceptualization of Interpersonal Trust In a Professional Context.
* an individual's behavioral reliance on another person under a condition of risk (Currall & Judge, 1995)

Openness/Honesty. Openness/honesty involves each of its two component parts. Openness, as a separate dimension of trust, has been referred to as freely sharing ideas and information (Butler, 1991). Openness, involves the disclosure of accurate information (Currall & Judge, 1995; Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard, & Werner, 1998) and not the filtering or distorting of information. Accurate and forthcoming information, as well as adequate explanations of decisions have been found to lead to higher levels of trust between individuals and their immediate superiors or managers (Korsgaard, Schweiger, & Sapienza, 1998). Honesty, which has also been termed behavioral integrity (Whitener et al., 1998), involves the consistency of a person's actions with his or her espousals. Butler and Cantrell (1984) found honesty to be the most important trust dimension in work situations between both superiors and subordinates.

Competence. Competence involves skill and ability to perform necessary tasks. Within the interpersonal trust construct, it involves knowledge of a person's skill level and ability to perform a future task for which that person is relied upon. Gabarro (1987) distinguished between functional competence (knowledge and skills related to a certain task) from personal competence (people skills). Butler and Cantrell (1984), however, combined these distinctions and defined competence as technical and interpersonal skills required for one's job.

Caring. Caring involves the treatment and exchange behavior between persons that reflect concern for basic human needs and limited opportunitism (Currall & Judge, 1995). At a minimum, this dimension of trust means that one party believes it will not be taken unfair advantage of by another (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995). However,

trust with regard to caring goes beyond a failure to be opportunistic and involves concern for the welfare of others (Mishra, 1996). Caring with respect to trust in an organizational setting has also been termed sharing (Whitener et al., 1998), which includes employee involvement, and delegation of control.

Reliability. Reliability involves acting upon promises or claimed skills (Currall & Judge, 1995), and has also been termed behavioral consistency (Whitener et al., 1998). Reliability also involves actions over time and across situations such that future actions can be predicted with a degree of accuracy (Mayer & Davis, 1999). Reliability, also termed predictability or behavioral consistency, has been found to be an important aspect to trust by many scholars (Gabarro, 1987; Whitener et al., 1998), as the risk parameter, or willingness to be vulnerable to the actions of others, appears to be moderated by the extent the others' actions can be predicted.

Combined Dimensions. In the conceptual framework presented, these separate dimensions of trust represent the components of an overall interpersonal trust construct. Additionally, each dimension of trust has been found to combine multiplicatively to create the overall degree of trust between two parties (Mishra, 1996). Low levels of one dimension may offset overall trust, even if higher levels are found in other dimensions. For example, an individual may be considered competent at work and able to perform the necessary tasks required of a job, but may not be trusted by coworkers if the person's words and actions are not reliable.

Antecedents to Interpersonal Trust

In addition to the dimensions of interpersonal trust within the workplace, research has also examined factors which lead to trust between co-workers; thus, certain antecedent influencers have been identified (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Hosmer, 1995; Whitener et al., 1998; Mayer & Davis, 1999). These antecedent influencers include a general propensity to trust and certain behavioral characteristics.

Propensity to Trust. McNight et al. (1998) differentiate influencers into those present with regard to the trusting person (disposition to trust) and those observed in the trusted party (trusting beliefs). Disposition to trust or propensity to trust (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995) is regarded by some researchers as a necessity for initial trust to occur (McKnight et al., 1998). Initial trust involves contexts where there is no experience or firsthand knowledge of the other party (McKnight et al., 1998). In these cases, initial trust involves the assumption of another party's future action or behavior based upon a presumed level of competence or skill, for example, computer program experts partnered to address a specific software issue (Meyerson et al., 1996). However, for sustained trust over time in the workplace, influencers arising from knowledge of the other party are generally considered necessary (Butler, 1991; Currall & Judge, 1995; Mayer & Davis, 1999). These knowledge-based influencers can collectively be labeled as behavioral characteristics (Butler & Cantrell, 1984), also termed behavior categories (Whitener et al., 1998).

Behavioral Characteristics Which Influence Trust. Specific behavioral characteristics that lead to the development of trust have been considered repeatedly in the literature. Early researchers identified as few as two characteristics (Hovland, Janis & Kelley, 1953), while later work delineated numerous characteristics (Butler, 1991). Mayer et al. (1995) conducted an extensive review of the research on trust antecedents and discovered three behavioral characteristics that appeared most often: ability, benevolence and integrity. These three characteristics have been utilized subsequently in further research on the antecedents of trust (Currall & Judge, 1995; Mayer & Davis, 1999; Whitener et al., 1998) and have been cited as the most commonly used trust factors in the literature (McKnight et al., 1998).

According to Mayer et al. (1995), *ability* is "that group of skills, competencies and characteristics that enable a party to have influence within some specific domain" (p. 717). The domain is specific because the trustee may be highly skilled in one area specific to a profession, while not highly skilled, trained or experienced in a different area (Mayer et al., 1995). Ability has been used by researchers synonymously with competence (Butler, 1991; Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Mishra, 1996). It is considered cognitive in formation and may be confirmed by professional credentials or certification (McAllister, 1995). Ability as a critical behavioral characteristic has also been described as perceived expertise (Hovland et al., 1953) or expertness (Gabarro, 1987), although all imply a competence or set of skills applicable to a single domain (Mayer et al., 1995).

Benevolence is demonstrating concern for the welfare of others (McAllister, 1995; Mishra, 1996). On an individual level, Mayer et al. (1995) and Mayer & Davis (1999) define benevolence as "the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor" (pp. 718 and 124, respectively). However, benevolence as an influencer to interpersonal trust formation is considered more than an intention or belief (McKnight et al., 1998). It is identified behavioral characteristics of another, in whom one may be considering to trust. Mayer et al. (1995) cite numerous researchers who have identified benevolence-like behavioral characteristics as a basis for trust. McAllister (1995)

cites findings from attribution research in claiming that certain behaviors including "demonstrating interpersonal care and concern rather than enlightened self interest" as critical for the development of affect based trust (p. 29). Benevolence not only is reflected in behavior, it is a behavioral characteristic that connotes a personal orientation which is not self, but other-directed (Korsgaard et al., 1998).

Whitener et al. (1998) define behavioral *integrity* as consistency between words and deeds, and suggest that employee observations of a manager's behavioral consistency enables them to make attributions about the manager's "integrity, honesty and moral character" (p. 516). Regarding the development of trust, the words-and-deeds connection appears to be creating a foundation with regard to integrity. Mayer et al. (1995) found the relationship between integrity and trust to involve a set of principles to which one party adhered and which is deemed acceptable to the other party. Hosmer (1995) refers to these principles as "moral values" (p. 384), as did Butler & Cantrell (1984).

Integrity and consistency were significant trust determinants in Butler and Cantrell's (1984) model, and integrity was included as a trust factor in Butler's (1991) 10 conditions of trust. Integrity has also been included in several models from Mayer and colleagues (Mayer & Davis, 1999; Mayer, et al., 1995). Thus, the inclusion of integrity as an antecedent influencer to the development of trust is well grounded in previous approaches to trust.

Outcomes of Interpersonal Trust

Recent work reflects an interest in trust, particularly interpersonal trust, fom the perspectives of both individual outcomes and organizational outcomes (Kramer & Tyler, 1996).

Organizational Outcomes. Work in the organizational behavior and ltuman resource management disciplines has focused attention upon trust as facilitating organizational performance outcomes such as efficiency, cooperation, coordination, and team performance. These organizational outcomes are presupposed to result from trust within groups (Shaw, 1997). However, little evidence was found in the literature that supports the notion of organizational performance outcomes arising from trust between groups. Rather, these organizational outcomes have been concluded from individual level data (see Fishman & Khanna, 1999; McAllister, 1995).

Individual Outcomes. Interpersonal cooperation and teaming as individual outcomes of trust have been explored by several researchers (see Jones & George, 1998; Gambetta, 1988), and there appears to be wide acknowledgement that trust can lead to cooperative behavior among individuals within organizations (Mayer et al., 1995; McAllister, 1995). Jones and George (1998) linked unconditional trust directly to interpersonal cooperation and teamwork to result in a workplace condition termed "productive interdependence" (p. 535). These researchers claim that unconditional trust can fundamentally change the quality of exchange relationships, and actually convert a group of individuals into a synergistic team.

McAllister (1995) distinguished between affect-based trust and cognition-based trust. In his study of trust between managers in an organization, the existence of affect-based trust was found to facilitate cooperative behavior and increase coordinated action among individuals (McAllister, 1995). However, even without the affective and cognitive distinctions, trust has been found to promote ad-hoc between-person work coordination without prior knowledge of or affect toward others (Meyerson et al., 1996). Further, trust in the workplace has been found to decrease transaction costs, the control and monitoring expenses related to personnel (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995) and to facilitate increased communication between persons (Fishman & Khanna, 1999).

Finally, although interpersonal trust at the individual level in workplace settings has not been studied extensively as an antecedent influencer to organizational trust, its link to organizational performance outcomes is clear. Thus, cooperative behavior, increased coordinated action and team formation all appear as performance-related outcomes of interpersonal trust in workplace settings. These organizational performance outcomes, particularly team formation and work group cohesion, may prove to be important influencers to organizational trust, although such a conclusion can not be drawn from the interpersonal trust research reviewed herein.

Implications in HRD

Theory suggests that trust is a critical factor for collaboration between employees, and trust has been found to lead to positive outcomes with regard to team formation, cooperation, and coordinated performance. Current research results can assist organizations, HRD practitioners, other HRD researchers, and educators in business and HRD to more fully understand interpersonal trust and its development. Organizations can learn to internally build and develop trust within their employee ranks from an understanding of factors which influence its emergence. Identifying the dimensions that comprise interpersonal trust, particularly between individuals within work situations, may specifically help executives, managers, and human resource professionals to foster environments conducive to

trust building. Through a fuller understanding of interpersonal trust and influencers to its emergence in the workplace, HRD professionals can develop methodologies and practices to cope with the condition of interdependence present in work environments of less hierarchical structures.

Other researchers on interpersonal trust might benefit from a conceptual understanding of antecedent influencers to trust, or to a specific dimension of interpersonal trust. Applied researchers might benefit from a fuller understanding of interpersonal trust when examining trust within an existing work setting, since much of the existing research on trust has been in non-professional settings (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Currall & Judge, 1995; Rotter, 1971). Theorists might benefit from a perspective on trust within the conceptual framework presented as a basis from which to approach the topic.

Finally, educators in both HRD and business curricula might benefit from this compilation of knowledge regarding interpersonal trust as a depiction of the current understandings of one component of the work environment. Educational programs and courses in both HRD and business might be expanded to reflect the condition of interpersonal trust within which individuals function in a work setting. Interpersonal trust is gaining increased attention in both the organizational behavior and human resources fields (Mayer et al., 1995) and further scholarly research from both the organizational behavior and HRD disciplines is hoped to result.

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Organizational Trust and Attachment to an Immediate Leader: A Pilot Study

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This pilot study explored whether attachment to the immediate leader affects organizational trust. Organizational trust scores of individuals having positive attachment to the immediate leader were compared with those having negative attachment. Results showed that attachment to an immediate leader did not significantly affect organizational trust scores. Implications for support of Sashkin's theory of organizational trust are discussed.

Keywords: Trust, Organizational Trust, Attachment

In today's modern and highly efficient organizations, where technology rules and doing business requires precise tactics and savvy strategic decisions, attachment -- the propensity to trust -- is still a defining factor in the degree of cohesion between organization members. Even in the most high-tech companies, we still hear phrases like, "I'd want him in my foxhole," or "I'd trust her with my life."

Trust allows us to put faith in another person, to take that person at their word, to count for true what that person says and to rely on their actions. Organizational trust is similar, yet with a significant distinction: its referent is not an individual, but a complex construct that includes members, policies, and practices that are shaped by its leaders. In the military, which holds its leadership directly responsible for life or death decisions, trust is critical. Yet arguably, even in this organization whose members are legally charged to obey the lawful directives of those of superior rank, those who do not trust their leaders may be less likely to fully risk their own well-being under orders. Conceivably, lack of trust in leadership could compromise commitment and lead to the failure of an essential mission. Similarly, organizational trust is vital in the civilian sector as well. The recent events surrounding the Firestone tire recalls demonstrate clearly how a disconnect between an organization's leaders and its members can result in mistrust leading to "mission failure" that spells injury and even death.

One problem about organizational trust is the issue of its locus. Exactly which leaders drive organizational trust? Is it shaped more by first-line leadership -- what we shall hereafter refer to as *immediate leaders* -- or by senior or executive level leadership as a whole? Sashkin (Sashkin & Levin, 2000) argues that organizational trust is driven by senior and executive managers of that organization. Nyhan and Marlowe (1997), on the other hand, contend that that "an individual's degree of trust varies between his or her supervisor and the organization as a whole" (p. 616), indicating that immediate leaders play a role as well. If so, attachment -- how much employees like or dislike an immediate leader -- may play an as yet undefined role in organizational trust.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this pilot study is to explore whether attachment to the immediate leader affects organizational trust. Specifically, the study examines two military directorates (hereafter referred to as "groups") within a military division to determine whether members feel less trust for their organization when they are supervised by an individual for whom they feel negative attachment (dislike) than when they work for one for whom they feel positive attachment (like). In this study, the *organization* is the military division comprised of seven directorates; *immediate leader* refers to the officer in charge of a directorate; *senior or executive level leadership* refers to division leaders who are above

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the immediate leader level; and *members* refers to persons working for an immediate leader. This pilot study is the first of its kind in examining the potential relationship between organizational trust and attachment to the immediate leader. This may help identify linkages between employee perception of their leaders, immediate and senior level, and the degree of trust which employees hold in their employing organization. Understanding such linkages may enable leaders at all levels to select those behaviors that subsequently enhance organizational trust.

Theoretical Framework

The organizing framework for the study is Sashkin's theory of organizational trust. Sashkin (1990) defines organizational trust as "the confidence that employees feel toward management and the degree to which they believe what management tells them" (p. 6). His theory integrates three approaches to trust: affective-based, cognitive-based, and combined affect- and cognition-based. Affective-based theories (Gibb, 1965, 1972, 1978; Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985; Friedman, 1991; and Sabel, 1993) examine trust as rooted in feelings, attitudes, and emotions. Cognition-based approaches to trust (Deutsch, 1958; Barber, 1983; Cummings & Bromiley, 1992; Gabarro, 1978; Hosmer, 1995; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Rotter, 1967; and Sako, 1995) view trust based on analysis of behaviors. Combined affect- and cognition-based approaches (Cook & Wall, 1980; Golembiewski & McConkie, 1975; Lewis & Weigert, 1985; McAllister, 1995; Ring & Van de Ven, 1992; and Zucker, 1986) function as the name suggests.

What delineates Sashkin's construct is that it employs an organizational level of analysis by looking at the behaviors of *senior and executive level managers as a group*. He asserts that it is the behaviors of leaders at the highest organizational levels that serve to establish a climate of organizational trust (Sashkin, 1996a, 1996b). By engaging in behaviors that strengthen confidence and belief in top management, these senior leaders increase feelings of security (Rempel et al., 1985) and reduce employees' feelings of ambiguity, feelings with both an affective and cognitive component. Ambiguity reduction functions cognitively to improve efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity, and affectively to reduce employee stress (Levin, 1999). Sashkin identifies credibility and consistency as the primary and secondary factors, respectively, of organizational trust (Sashkin & Levin, 2000). The Management Behavior Climate Assessment (Sashkin & Levin, 2000) measures the climate of organizational trust from a behavioral perspective relative to these two factors.

The second theoretical construct involved is attachment. Attachment theory, originally outlined by John Bowlby (1969/1982, 1973, 1980) is a life-span theory of social development. Johnston (2000), examining managers' behavior patterns, characterized attachment theory as an examination of "interaction patterns and accompanying emotions in close, nonbusiness relationships" that are "linked to experienced-based mental models of the self and others" and which "can serve as a conceptual framework for understanding adult relationships" (p. 4). Secure patterns of attachment are characterized by a general propensity to trust; insecure patterns of attachment lead to ineffective use of others in problem-solving situations (Arend, Gove, & Sroufe, 1979; Frankel & Bates, 1990) rooted in an based on a general reluctance to trust.

We found no direct research on the relationship between attachment to an immediate leader and trust of the organization itself. Still, there are some enticing hints that such a relationship may exist. DeVries (1993), for instance, ties trust to leadership in general, noting that: "trust depends on communication, support, respect, fairness, credibility, competence, and consistency on the part of the leader." (p. 176) Cole and Cole (1999) concur, acknowledging trust as key to managerial success and stressing the importance of "cooperative, positive relationships with followers" (p. 3), which are elements of positive attachment. Kim and Mauborgne (1993) link organizational trust antecedents to employees' belief in organizational leaders. Additionally, Krackhardt and Porter (1985) found organizational trust to be positively associated with friendship centrality in the work place, a notion that others (Yoon, Baker, & Ko, 1994) have linked to organizational commitment. Recent research (Lafferty, Wagner, & Levin, 1999) found that differences in organizational trust in groups working under different immediate leaders linked to ethnicity. Considering these studies in conjunction with the clear associations between attachment and interpersonal trust (Korsgaard, Schweiger, & Sapienza, 1995), it is not unreasonable to think that an organizational trust connection is at least worthy of exploration.

Research Questions & Hypothesis

Do organization members' feelings of attachment toward an immediate leader affect their level of organizational trust? Proponents of Sashkin's theory would expect the null hypothesis to be borne out. However, if attachment to the immediate leader affects organizational trust, then we would expect to see H1 supported:

HO: There is no significant difference between organizational trust scores (as measured by the MBCA-Core Version) of members who work for an immediate leader whom they like (positive attachment) and those who work for an immediate leader whom they dislike (negative attachment).

H1: There is a significant difference between organizational trust scores (as measured by the MBCA-Core Version) of members who work for an immediate leader whom they like (positive attachment) and those who work for an immediate leader whom they dislike (negative attachment).

Methodology

Research Design

This pilot study employed a one-shot case study design (Campbell & Stanley, 1963) to determine if there is a difference between organizational trust scores of members having negative attachment to an immediate leader and those expressing positive attachment to an immediate leader. The study used the Management Behavior Climate Assessment – Core Version (MBCA-CV) (Sashkin & Levin, 2000) to assess levels of organizational trust in the two directorates. The determination of positive or negative attachment was based on perceptions of the respective directorate leaders that were informally voiced by directorate members to the researchers over a period of one year.

Sample

The focus population is the military members working in two directorates (Groups) within a military division having seven directorates total. Group 1 (negative attachment) has a total population of nine, of whom eight members participated in the study. Group 2 (positive attachment) has a total population of fourteen, of whom twelve participated. Table 1 shows the demographic and biographic data distribution of the two sample groups. We selected the groups each represented wholly positive or negative attachment to the immediate leader.

Table 1. Demographic/Biographic Characteristics of Sample

Demo/Bio Variable	Frequency/ Percentage		Demo/Bio Variable	Frequency/ Percentage		Demo/Bio Variable	Frequency/ Percentage		Demo/Bio Variable	Frequency/ Percentage	
	Group 1 N=8	***Group 2 N=12***		***Group 1 N=8***	***Group 2 N=12***		***Group 1 N=8***	***Group 2 N=12***		***Group 1 N=8***	***Group 2 N=12***
Gender			Military Rank			Marital Status			Age		
Male	6/75	11/92	Officer	5/62.5	8/67	Married	5/62.5	9/75	18-25	0/0	1/8
Female	2/25	1/8	Enlisted	3/37.5	3/25	Single	2/25	1/8	26-33	0/0	1/8
			No reply	0/0	1/8	Divorced	1/12.5	2/17	34-41	6/50	6/50
									42-49	2/25	3/25
									50-57	0/0	1/8
Ethnic Group			Years in Military			Education					
Caucasian	3/37.5	5/42	< 1 yr	0/0	0/0	High school	0/0	0/0			
African-Amer	3/37.5	2/16	1 to 6 yrs	0/0	2/17	Some college	1/12.5	5/42			
Hispanic Amer	1/12.5	5/42	7 to 12 yrs	1/12.5	0/0	2 yr degree	1/12.5	1/8			
Asian-Pacific	0/0	0/0	13 to 18 yrs	3/37.5	3/25	4 yr degree	5/62.5	4/33			
Other	1/12.5	0/0	19 to 24 yrs	4/50	2/17	Masters	1/12.5	2/17			
			25 to 30 yrs	0/0	3/25	Doctorate	0/0	0/0			
			No reply	0/0	2/17						

Instrumentation

The Management Behavior Climate Assessment – Core Version (MBCA-CV) is a 16-item instrument derived from the MBCA, a 50-item questionnaire that measures organizational trust on four scales: Credibility, Consistency, Relevancy, and Overall Trust. Both versions assess the climate of trust created in an organization by the actions and behaviors of the executive/senior level managers. (Levin, 1999). The Core Version used for this study is comprised of two scales, Credibility and Consistency; each scale is made up of eight items. We selected the Core Version for two reasons. First, this version is made up of the items from the psychometrically sound full-scale MBCA that factored cleanly in repeated administrations over a wide variety of populations (Sashkin & Levin, 2000). Second, since this was a pilot study, the abbreviated version was deemed sufficient to determine if the study was worth pursuing in broader scope.

Dependent and Independent Variables

The dependent variables for organizational trust are the participants' scores assessing leader credibility and consistency as measured by the MBCA-CV. The independent variable is the immediate leader of each group, toward whom the group members expressed positive or negative attachment.

Biographic and Demographic Variables

Data were collected on seven secondary biographic and demographic variables: gender; ethnicity; age; education; military rank; time in service; and marital status. These data were used to describe the sample and, as needed, to provide control for any intervening variable unrelated to attachment, as well as to eliminate rival hypotheses and possible confounding effects.

Research Procedures

The MBCA-CV, the demographic questionnaire, a one-dollar participation incentive, and a stamped, addressed return envelope were assembled under a cover letter explaining research focus, timeline and instructions for completion (return within three weeks), voluntary participation, and authorization for distribution. All materials were individually packaged and hand-distributed by a researcher to each directorate.

Results

Response rate was 89 percent for Group 1 (negative attachment) and 86 % for Group 2 (positive attachment). Scores for the MBCA-CV scales are interpreted as follows: 5 = very high; 4 = high; 3 = average; 2 = low; and 1 = very low. Table 2 displays the MBCA-CV scores for both groups.

Table 2. MBCA-CV Scores - Descriptive Statistics

Group 1 (*N*=8)	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Error	Standard Deviation	Variance
Consistency	1.88	4.50	3.61	.3192	.9028	.815
Credibility	2.36	4.50	3.61	.2464	.6970	.486
Both Scales	2.12	4.44	3.61	.2776	.7852	.616
Group 2 (*N*=12)	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Error	Standard Deviation	Variance
Consistency	1.88	5.00	3.85	.2797	.9688	.939
Credibility	1.88	5.00	3.87	.2524	.8743	.764
Both Scales	1.88	5.00	3.86	.2617	.9065	.822

We noted that MBCA-CV scores for Group 2 (positive attachment) contained a single outlier in each scale that fell outside the lower quartile of both Consistency and Credibility and affected the calculation of means and variances for Group 2 (Fig. 1). Group 1 (negative attachment) had no outliers, but the majority of its data fell below the median.

This small sample size invited using an independent *t*-test to draw statistical inferences about the two samples' means (Aczel, 1999; Leedy, 1996). Significance was set at .05 (95% confidence interval). Results of the independent *t*-tests are at Table 3.

Figure 1. Boxplots Comparing Organizational Trust Scores (Consistency and Credibility Scales Combined) for Group 1 (Negative Attachment) and Group 2 (Positive Attachment)

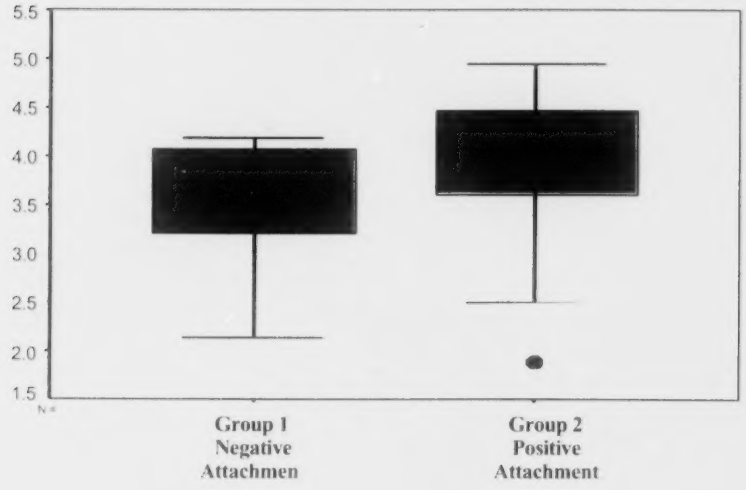
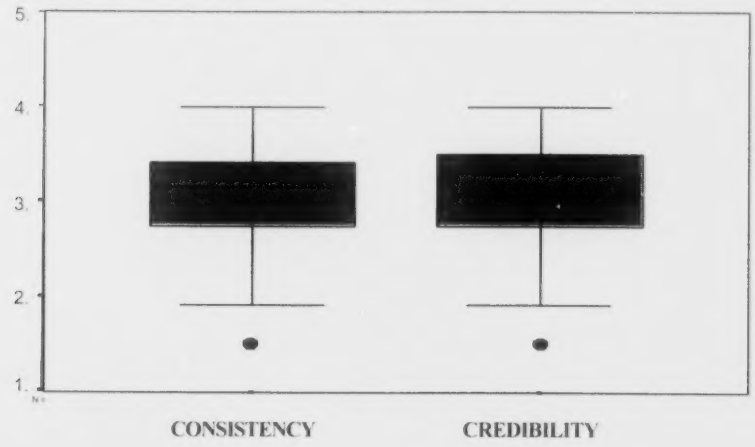


Figure 2. Boxplots Comparing Organizational Trust Scores by Scale (Group 1 and Group 2 Combined*).



* Both outliers occurred in Group 2 (positive attachment)

Table 3. Results of Independent *t*-tests

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		*t*-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	*t*	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	St. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Consistency									
Equal variances assumed	.015	.903	-.569	18	.577	-.2450	.4307	-1.1499	.6599
Equal variances not assumed			-.577	15.907	.572	-.2450	.4244	-1.1451	.6551
Credibility									
Equal variances assumed	.086	.773	-.694	18	.496	-.2567	.3697	-1.0334	.5200
Equal variances not assumed			-.728	17.785	.477	-.2567	.3527	- .9999	.4866
Both Scales Combined									
Equal variances assumed	.085	.774	-.635	18	.534	-.2496	.3931	-1.0756	.5764
Equal variances not assumed			-.654	16.618	.522	-.2496	.3815	-1.0559	.5567

Independent *t*-tests revealed that there was no significant difference between the groups in MBCA-CV scores for Consistency ($p = 0.465$), Credibility ($p = 0.337$) or Both Scales Combined ($p = 0.395$). Since there were no significant findings, there was no reason to test for effect of intervening variables (demographic or biographic).

Discussion

This pilot study supported the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between organizational trust scores of employees who work for an immediate leader whom they like and those who work for an immediate leader whom they dislike. Therefore, we can conclude from the evidence here that employees' preference for or aversion to an immediate leader does not appear to influence their organizational trust level. This leads us back to the notion that organizational trust is based on employees' perception of the *senior* leaders' behavior -- not the immediate leader -- as consistent and credible (Levin, 1999; Sashkin & Levin, 2000). Senior leadership in this organization consists of those leaders above the directorate level, at the division level. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the two groups reported the same perception of the climate of trust in the organization (division) based on the division's senior leadership as opposed to the intermediate leadership of the directorates. These results indicate that attachment to an immediate leader -- positive or negative -- does not significantly influence how employees perceive the behaviors of senior or executive level leadership as a whole.

Limitations of the Study

A major limitation was the very small sample sizes of each group, eight and twelve, respectively. A sample of 30 or more per group would have allowed more comprehensive analysis and testing of the data. Next, the assumption of positive or negative attachment to immediate leaders was based wholly on common perceptions within the division informally reported to the researchers. Future research calls for rigorous empirical measurement of leader-follower attachment concurrent with administration of the full MBCA. It follows that use of the Core Version of the MBCA limited the discriminant potential of the study. It is possible that the 50-item version may have revealed significant difference that the scaled-down version did not reveal. Lastly, the results of this small survey, taken within the very

circumscribed and traditional society of a military division, obviously cannot be generalized to other organizations within or outside the military.

Conclusion: New Directions for HRD

Warren Bennis (1997) recently called for "a new kind of leader…[with] the ability to generate and sustain trust" (p. 84) if organizations are to thrive in the 21st century. The construct of organizational trust is still nascent, however, and much research remains to be done if we in HRD are to gain some mastery of its operational nature. This pilot study represents an initial venture into the complex mechanism of organizational trust, leadership, and attachment. Despite its limitations, it indicates enticing avenues for further investigation into attachment and organizational trust, especially given the growing body of research on organizational trust. McMurray, Scott, and Pace (2000) recently noted that studies of this nature "are a contribution to the interconnectedness at the foundational level " (p. 589) of HRD. We certainly recommend expanding this study using larger and more varied samples, the full MBCA, and a psychometrically sound measure of attachment.

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The Importance of Individualism and Collectivism as they Relate to Interpersonal Trust

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This essay examines the theories of individualism and collectivism (I-C), as well as theories of interpersonal trust. From this theoretical perspective a better understanding of the relationship of individualism and collectivism to interpersonal trust is developed. Also this paper suggests that interpersonal trust may, in fact, differ based on tendencies towards I-C and the varying components of trust. Finally, this paper purports several practical implications for global HRD professionals based on the relationship of IC to interpersonal trust.

Key words: Individualism, Collectivism, Interpersonal Trust

The trend of globalization is by no means new to business and industry, however the effects of this trend demand attention from researchers across disciplines of education, business, psychology, sociology, and economics to name a few. As organizations enter new markets, become part of joint ventures, and partake in mergers and acquisitions, the demand for cross-cultural research related to business has grown tremendously. Specifically, the human dimension of this global activity has come to the forefront of such cross-cultural research.

It is this human dimension that interests human resource development (HRD) professionals. Blurring global lines and increases in workforce diversity require HRD professionals to not only be competent themselves, but also to develop the competencies of their workforce in the cross-cultural implications of virtually all workplace issues. Hence the need to study global issues in relation to workforce preparation, becomes relevant for HRD professionals especially those HRD professionals involved in global HRD. International HRD professional assume the responsibility for educating and developing a workforce that crosses many cultural lines. As a result, international HRD professionals and more specifically international organization development professionals become responsible for not only acquiring the knowledge related to cross-cultural workplace issues, but they must also disseminate that knowledge to their workforce through career development, training and development, and organization development. In order to do so, they must first turn to existing research and literature related to cross-cultural workplace issues. Several landmark studies in the past have laid a strong foundation for cross-cultural research. For example, Hofstede's (1980; 1983; 1991) study on the consequences of culture on work related values and Triandis' (1993, 1994,1995, 1998) numerous works related to the constructs of individualism-collectivism (I-C) have provided researchers in many disciplines with the base upon which they have continued to build cross-cultural research (see also, Trompenaars 1993; Hickson & Pugh, 1995; and Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996).

Cross-cultural researchers have found that traditional views of workplace dimensions must be reassessed in light of the changes in multinational workforces and globalization of business structures. In the new global environment, the notion of trust is one issue of interpersonal and inter-group dynamics that is critical to the success of multinational organizations. Trust has been shown to contribute to more effective implementation of strategy, greater managerial coordination (McAllister, 1995), cooperative behavior (Kramer, 1999; Mayer et al., 1995) more effective work teams (Lawler, 1995), reduced transaction costs (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995), a basis for commitment to carry out agreements (Schurr & Ozannem, 1985), and is important to individual satisfaction (Anderson and Narus, 1990).

According to Doney, Cannon, and Mullen (1998), the growing attention to the importance of trust and the concurrent emergence of global and multinational workplaces has "highlighted the need for us to understand how trust develops and the ways national culture impacts the trust-building process (p. 1)." They indicate that the societal norms of national culture have established values that guide people's behavior and beliefs (Doney, Cannon, & Mullen, 1998). For example, each culture often has varying views on how and whether or not trust should be established (Triandis, 1994). Earley and Gibson (1998) suggest that to better understand organizational phenomenon and the cultural contexts within which organizations operate the national culture values of I-C must be investigated as antecedents. Trust, as an organizational phenomenon has also been associated with being context-specific (Kramer, 1999). Consequently, this paper will attempt to address the relationship of I-C to interpersonal trust.

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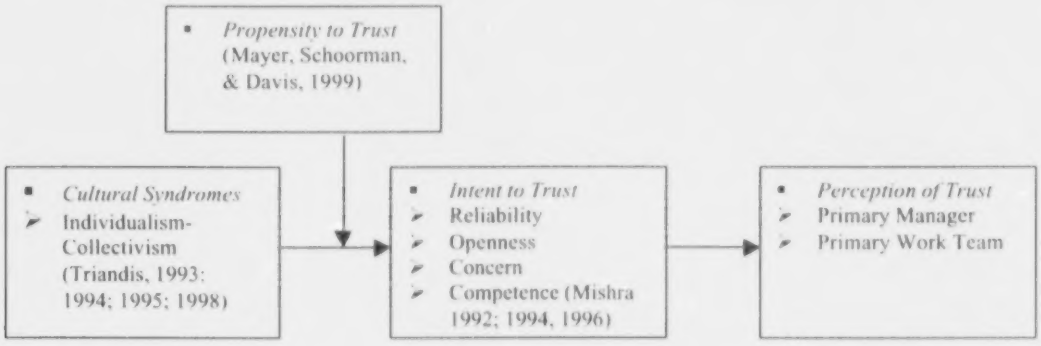
Through examining existing theories of I-C and interpersonal trust and the potential relationship of these theories several implications for HRD professionals will be addressed.

Theoretical Framework

Building on Fishbein & Ajzen's (1980) Theory of Reasoned Action and their decision model, a few trust researchers (i.e., Currall & Judge 1995 and McKnight, Cummings & Chervany 1998) have suggested frameworks for intentions to trust. These researchers purport that an individual's attitudes, beliefs, and cognitions will shape his intention to trust ultimately moderating whether that individual engages in trusting behavior. Similarly, this essay proposes that an individual's cultural syndrome (i.e., their individualist or collectivist nature) serves as an antecedent to their propensity to trust (see Figure 1). That propensity to trust will then moderate their intent to trust based on the individual's knowledge of the trustor's reliability, openness, concern, and competence. Finally, the intent to trust will determine the perception of trust an individual has toward the trustee (i.e., trust in the primary manager or trust in the primary work team).

Figure 1. Cultural Framework for Trust



Problem Statement

International organizations are realizing that their workforce is rapidly becoming multinational due to increases in globalization, mergers and acquisitions, and joint ventures (Marquardt & Engel, 1993). As organizations continue to employ workers from different national cultures both domestically and internationally, HRD is now pressed with a new dilemma in improving performance at the individual, team or organizational levels with a global focus. That is, HRD professionals are now being asked to consider effects of national culture (which includes values and beliefs) on their performance improvement initiatives.

In addition, the notion of trust is one interpersonal dynamic that has received a great deal of attention in the organizational sciences recently (Kramer, 1999). While there is research looking at the moderators, mediators, and outcomes of the construct of trust, a large gap exists in the trust literature regarding the antecedents of trust; especially the cultural dimensions as possible antecedents. The limited extant literature on culture as an antecedent of trust inhibits HRD professional's ability to effectively analyze, design, develop, implement, evaluate and manage performance improvement or promote organizational learning in a global arena. That is, a review of literature will provide an understanding to the implications of differences in interpersonal dynamics on a global workforce to continuously improve performance and learning in an efficient and effective manner. Therefore, this essay is guided by the following research question: what is the relationship, in the extant literature, between cultural syndrome and interpersonal trust in the workplace?

Review of Literature

This section will review the extant literature related to culture and interpersonal trust. The literature will be discussed according to the cultural trust model presented above. In the model, it has been purported that culture, specifically the national culture values of individualism and collectivism, serve as antecedents to one's propensity to trust. This propensity to trust then moderates a trustor's perception of trustee in the trustee. The perceptions of trust

are formed based on reliability, openness, concern, and competence as components of trust. The outcome then is a perception of trust in the trustee (e.g., manager or team).

Theories on Culture

The literature related to culture and specifically to cultural syndromes is vast. The focus of this literature review will be only on literature that is specific to the national culture values of individualism or collectivism (i.e., cultural syndromes). Much of the cross-cultural literature draws from early works: Kluckholm and Strodbeck's (1961) five value orientations, Rokeach's (1973) 36 values, and Hofstede's (1980) five dimensions of culture. The commonality in these frameworks, and others since then, is the distinction between individualistic and collectivistic value orientations. Hofstede's (1980) five dimensions of work-related values are perhaps the most commonly used in cross-cultural research. In particular, Hofstede's dimension of individualism has been the most commonly replicated and supported dimension (Nicol, 1994).

Mental Programming. Hofstede's (1980) work looked at 116,000 employees of a multinational corporation in 40 countries during 1968 and 1972. He used a factor analysis method to find four main work related values: Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, and Uncertainty Avoidance. Later, Hofstede (1989) added the fifth dimension of Long-Term Orientation.

Hofstede (1984) has noted that individuals within a culture are mentally programmed over the years to adhere to certain cultural values. Similar to Triandis' (1995) notion of subjective culture, Hofstede states that mental programs are "developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organizations, and that these mental programs contain a component of national culture. They are most clearly expressed in the different values that predominate among people from different cultures (pp. 11)." Hence, the explanation for some cultures being high or low along the four work-related dimensions mentioned earlier can be explained due to the mental programming of that culture.

According to Hofstede (1980) power distance reflects the degree of inequality in a society. Masculinity reflects distinctions in gender roles while femininity reflects a society where social gender roles overlap (Erez, 1994). Uncertainty avoidance reflects the level of threat one feels in uncertain or unknown situations. Finally Hofstede (1980) also identified individualism as a work-related value. Similar to the Triandis (1995) discussion below, Hofstede (1980) relates individualism to patterns of relationships between an individual and the group. Erez (1994) explains the major themes of individualism as being "distinct and separate from the group, having an emphasis on personal goals, and showing less concern and emotional attachment to in-groups...workers [in] individualistic cultures are expected to act according to their personal needs and self-interests (Erez, 1994, pp. 572)." However, Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars (1996) have further differentiated the notion of individualism by stating that some researchers define:

> the term primarily in terms of continuity of group membership, (e.g., Triandis, 1990), others focus more upon the values governing one's relations with others (e.g., Schwartz, 1992)...Hofstede's (1980) operationalization does separate different priorities in one's interpretation of work-role obligations, but these priorities open a variety of interpretations. (pp. 261)

Over the years Hofstede's (1980) work has been both replicated and refuted. That is, while numerous studies have been conducted to replicate his studies with some degree of reliability, several studies have also not been able to replicate his findings. Most often empirical research has been able to replicate the dimensions of power distance and individualism. Chew (1996) notes that the generalizability of Hofstede's (1980) work is limited, due mostly to the fact that the data were gathered from only one multinational corporation (and its subsidiaries).

As a result of Hofstede's (1980) foundational work and the work of many of his predecessors the terms of individualism and collectivism have come into common place when discussing work-place values as well as cultural orientations. Since some questions have arisen regarding the reliability of his findings, other more recent and comprehensive models of individualism and collectivism have evolved over the years.

Cultural Syndromes. Triandis (1995) provided the most comprehensive explanation of I-C, based on empirical research. Triandis (1995) believes that cultures and countries are relatively equivalent, but he states that countries consist of hundreds of cultures and corresponding subcultures. He defines subcultures as "shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles and values found among speakers of a particular language who live during the same historical period in a specified geographic region...[and] are transferred from generation to generation (pp. 6)."

Triandis (1994) has noted that cultures can be broken down into subjective and objective aspects of cultures. Objective aspects of culture are made up of such man-made artifacts as tools, roads, radio stations etc. whereas the subjective aspects of a culture are made up of the categorizations, associations, norms, values and roles (Triandis, 1994). According to Triandis (1994), the analysis of subjective culture allows for an understanding of how

people perceive and view their social environment. When the pieces of the subjective culture are constructed around a central theme then there is a "cultural syndrome" (Triandis, 1995). Hence, Triandis views both individualism and collectivism (IC) as the central themes around which a culture can be constructed. An individualistic central theme is one in which the theme includes the idea that individuals are the unit of analysis and are autonomous. A collectivistic theme is one in which the theme incorporates the notion that groups are the unit of analysis and individuals, in Triandis' words, are "tightly intertwined parts of these groups (pp. 6)." Hui & Triandis (1986) conducted a study of social scientists from various parts of the world asking them to respond to a questionnaire, as they believed an individualist or collectivist would respond. According to Hui & Triandis (1986) the responses converged suggesting that there is consensus about the meaning of these dimensions.

While these constructs are often presented as being at two ends of the cultural spectrum, Triandis (1995) states that in actuality all individuals have both cognitive tendencies and it is through both the subjective and objective environments in which we find our upbringing that we have more of one tendency in comparison to the other in any given social setting. In addition, Triandis (1995) has noted that the notions of individualism and collectivism are supported by studies of beliefs, attitudes, and values. It is this specific strand of cross-cultural literature (i.e., looking at beliefs, attitudes, and values) that this essay attempts to discuss in terms of antecedents to trust.

Contexts in Individualism-Collectivism. Tendencies toward individualism or collectivism are often context specific (Matsumoto, Weissman, Preston, Brown, and Kupperbusch, 1997). Triandis (1988) indicates that differences in individualism and collectivism differ across social context. Matsumoto et al. (1997) also note that while attitudes and values can transcend specific situations there are still substantial individual and group differences that exist. Hence, for the purposes of this essay only the workplace context will be addressed. The workplace context is one in which there is likely to be more "tightness", as Triandis (1995) has described (pp. 87). Therefore, this tightness will *likely* lead work place relations to a pattern that is most common to that specific national culture.

In-groups and Out-groups. In discussing the values or cultural syndromes of individualism and collectivism the terms "in-group" and "out-group" must be further clarified. According to Triandis (1995), in-groups refer to those groups for whose "welfare a person is concerned, with whom that person is willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns, and separation from whom leads to anxiety (pp. 9)." He goes on to describe in-groups as having similar characteristics and for whom a person feels a "common sense of fate." In contrast, out-groups are described by Triandis (1995) as "groups with which one has something to divide, perhaps unequally, or are harmful in some ways, groups that disagree on valued attributes, or groups with which there is conflict (pp. 9)."

Membership within in-group and out-groups will impact the level of trust between the trustee and the trustor. According to Hofstede (1991) trusting relationships must be first established before conducting business with individuals from collectivistic cultures. However, trust building in such collectivistic cultures is likely to take a long period of time, yet once they are formed such relationships are lifelong (Triandis et al., 1988). According to Shaffer and O'Hara (1995), "as trust is a necessary condition for in-group membership and slow to achieve among members of low individualistic countries, first-time relationships with service providers such as merchants, policemen, government bureaucrats, etc. are probably seen as out-group interactions (pp. 6)." They go on to state that, "individualistic societies probably have higher levels of interpersonal trust, particularly during initial encounters, when compared to their collectivistic counterparts (Shaffer and O'Hara, 1995, pp. 6)."

Given this review of extant literature related to individualism and collectivism. It becomes clear that an individual's individualistic or collectivistic tendencies are programmed or formed based on their subjective culture. Hence effecting their propensity to trust. The following section will review the current trust literature looking specifically at the components of trust and propensity to trust.

Basic Assumptions of Trust. Basic assumptions exist regarding the nature of trust in the current trust literature. Several researchers have noted that the notion of trust is based on (1) the willingness of a trustor to be vulnerable to the trustee; (2) the acceptance of risk on the part of the trustor towards the trustee; (3) the need for interdependence between the trustor and the trustee; and (4) the idea that trust is a multidimensional level construct (Hosmer 1995; Mishra 1999; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995, Nicol 1994; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). All of these assumptions are predicated on the notion that the trustee will not behave opportunistically, will not take unfair advantage of a situation, has something that the trustor wants or needs and that the level of trust can vary in a given situation or context as well as in terms of the relationship between the trustor and trustee (i.e., manager-subordinate, co-worker, child- parent etc).

Foundations of Trust. No unifying definition of trust currently exists as the concept stems from varying fields of study and relies heavily on the assumptions of the authors. Trust is a multidimensional and multidisciplinary concept for multi-level relationships (Rousseau et al., 1998). Hosmer (1995) conducted a thorough review of the trust literature in an attempt to identify an appropriate definition of trust through the lenses of various

fields of study (e.g., economics, psychology, sociology, and management theory). According to Rousseau, et al (1998), economists tend to view trust as calculative or institutional while psychologists perceive trust in terms of attributes of the trustor and trustee based on internal cognitions. Still yet, sociologists observe trust to be part of social relationships among people or institutions.

Hence, in order to clearly understand the basis of trust in terms of extant literature many of the varying perspectives must be examined. Through his review of literature Hosmer (1995) identified five different perspectives from which trust can be viewed: individual expectations, interpersonal relationships, economic exchanges, social structures, and ethical principles. The notion of trust in terms of interpersonal relationships will be the focus of this paper as trust in the context of the workplace most specifically relates to this strand of literature.

Hosmer (1995), defines trust in terms of interpersonal relationships by first looking at Zand's (1972) definition suggesting that trust was an "individual's willingness to increase his or her vulnerability to the actions of another person whose behavior he or she could not control (in Hosmer, 1995, p.3)." Thus, the decision to trust remained that of an individual, however, the consequences of that action were now dependent on the actions of another person (Hosmer, 1995). Hosmer (1995) also notes, Butler and Cantrell's (1984) addition of inequality in position when defining trust in terms of interpersonal relationships. They proposed five components of trust and the degree to which individuals differed on these characteristics depended on their position (e.g., superior-subordinate). Butler and Cantrell's (1984) five components are as follows: (1) Integrity—the reputation for honesty and truthfulness on the part of the trustee, (2) Competence—the technical knowledge and interpersonal skill needed to perform the job; (3)Consistency—the reliability, predictability, and good judgement in handling situations; (4) Loyalty—benevolence, or the willingness to protect, support, and encourage others; (5) Openness—mental accessibility, or the willingness to share ideas and information freely with others (In Hosmer, 1995, Butler and Cantrell, 1984).

Hosmer (1995) goes on to note the later additions by Cantrell (1991) and that by Ring and Van de Ven (1992) that trust goes beyond simple benevolence (in the loyalty component) but is really the confidence of the trustor that the trustee will behave in a manner that will not harm the trustor and that will look out for the good will of the trustor, respectively. Finally, Butler (1991) states that "the literature on trust has converged on the beliefs that (a) trust is an important aspect of interpersonal relationships, (b) trust is essential to the development of managerial careers, and (c) trust in a specific person is more relevant in terms of predicting outcomes than is the global attitude of trust in generalized others" (Hosmer, 1995, p. 4)."

Similar to Butler and Cantrell (1984), Mishra (1992; 1994; 1996) operationalized trust to include the following four components: (1) Competence—confidence in the trustee's abilities to perform up to expected standards; (2) Reliability—expectation of consistent behavior over time, especially between words and actions; (3) Openness—perceptions of openness and honesty in the trustee (especially) in terms of communications between the trustor and the trustee; (4) Concern—concern for the welfare of others.

Like Butler and Cantrell (1984), Mishra included openness and competence components in his conceptualization of trust. While Butler and Cantrell distinguished openness from integrity, Mishra included the notion of honesty (i.e., integrity) into openness. Whitener et al. (1998) include this openness dimension in their communication component where accurate information is provided, explanations are given for decisions, and the trustee has a sense of openness with the trustor. The unique aspect of Mishra's work is that his components of trust resulted from interviews he conducted with 33 executives in the automotive industry regarding trust issues in crisis situations. The strength of his empirical findings comes in the alignment of his components with existing theoretical frameworks (Butler & Cantrell, 1984). His concern component corresponds with Butler's benevolence category. Whitener et al. (1998) see the concern component as consisting of three different parts: (1) consideration and sensitivity for employees needs and interests, (2) protecting employee interests, and (3) refraining from exploiting others for one's own benefit or interest. Finally, Butler and Cantrell's idea of consistency and McKnight et al.'s (1998) predictability trust belief are encompassed in Mishra's reliability component. This component looks to the consistent, predictable and reliable behavior of the trustee. Much like Mishra's components and Butler and Cantrell categories McKnight et al. also posit that the trustor's intention to trust relies on the following trusting beliefs: benevolence, competence, honest, and predictability.

Similarly, Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman's (1995) definition of trust includes the notions of ability, benevolence, and integrity. Their definition makes the assumption that when embarking in a "trust" relationship there is inevitably a degree of vulnerability by the trustor towards the trustee. Mayer et al. (1995) have also noted that in order to adequately assess the degree to which a trustor is willing to trust a trustee both the trustor's "propensity to trust and the trustor's perceptions of the trustee's ability, benevolence, and integrity must be discerned (p. 10)." Therefore, Mayer et al. (1995) view this propensity towards trust as an antecedent to trust.

While some researchers have found disposition to trust to be a significant antecedent (McKnight et al. 1998; Mayer et al., 1995) other researchers have indicated that disposition to trust is either an assumption that has yet to be proven (Holmes, 1991) or at the very minimum is not a precise determinant of trust (Johnson-George and Swap; 1982). Few authors (Mayer et al., 1995; McKnight et al., 1998) have cited the notion of a propensity or disposition to trust as an antecedent to trusting behavior. McKnight et al. followed Fishbein and Ajzen's (1980) theory of reasoned action for decision making as a framework for trusting behavior. They posit that attitudes and perceived norms lead to behavioral intentions that in turn will lead to actual behaviors. Similarly, McKnight et al.'s model of initial trust formation highlights a disposition to trust as an antecedent followed by cognitive processes as moderators leading to trusting beliefs (i.e., beliefs regarding the trustee's benevolence, competence, honest, and predictability). Based on the trustor's beliefs an intention to trust is established. Hence, in this model the actual trusting behavior is viewed as an outcome (as suggested in the theoretical framework above).

Culture and Trust. Few studies have shown an strong relationship between culture and trust. Shaffer & O'Hara (1995) looked at the effects of country of origin on trust and ethical perceptions of legal services. Shaffer and O'Hara (1995) found that individuals from low individualism countries will express less trust of a service professional than persons from high individualism countries. Consequently, Shaffer and O'Hara (1995) have found that trust varies along low and high individualism countries.

Shaffer & O'Hara (1995) have found that high power distance and high collectivism show a strong distinction between in-groups and out-groups. They go on to state that in these countries trust is essentially based on in-group membership. Hence, in "collectivistic countries in-group membership and ultimately trust may take longer to achieve... In individualistic countries business is conducted with whole companies, in collectivistic countries business is conducted with individuals (who are members of one's in-group; therefore the relationship is then with one person and not the entire company p. 13)."

Similarly, Yamagishi & Yamagishi (1994) found that Japanese citizens reported lower levels of trust compared with their American counterparts. This appears to be a rather surprising finding given the expectation that Japanese culture is often identified with "close, stable, long-term social relations (Kramer, 1999, p. 10). However, Yamagishi & Yamagishi (1994) note that in actuality Japanese culture can be distinguished by high stability whereas American culture does not have a comparable sense of stability and social uncertainty. Therefore, when in a situation of instability Americans are more concerned with reducing the stability and uncertainty through personal knowledge of the trustor as well as reputational information whereas the Japanese rely on assurance of predicted stability of interpersonal and interorganizational relationships (Kramer, 1999).

Nicol (1994), in his study of American and Mexican students found that trust is in fact a multidimensional concept that serves as a foundation for assessing cultural influence on trust. Nicol found the application of the trust concept "to differ systematically along cultural lines (p. 101)." Specifically, he found that the more collectivist culture would placed a higher emphasis on the relationship dimension of trust, while the more individualistic culture placed a higher emphasis on the institutional agent and caution dimensions of trust.

Some criticism exists regarding the empirical verification of trust as a culture level construct. Strong & Webber (1998) investigated the culture dimensions of trust, using Hofstede's (1980) framework, but they failed to find significant differences in trust between cultures in an international study of 122 business leaders; they purport that culturally determined perceptions of trust are simply an "artifact of the academic research community" (p. 1). Still yet, McAllister (1995) differentiated between affect and cognition based trust as well as hypothesized that cultural-ethnic similarity could be antecedents to cognition based trust. However, ethnic similarity was not found to be associated with cognition-based trust.

McAllister's (1995) findings along with Strong & Webber (1998) bring to bear a controversial stance in the trust literature. Where a few researchers over the years have found empirical relationships between trust and culture, Strong & Webber's (1998) and McAllister (1995) findings seem to go against the conventional grain of cross-cultural studies that have found relationships between national culture values and interpersonal relationships. Yet questions arise regarding the construct and measures utilized for both culture and trust by these researchers. As such, the model and constructs presented for trust and culture in this essay suggest that culture will in fact have a relationship to perceptions of trust in the workplace. Hence, implications for future research relate specifically to the need for establishing this relationship between culture (i.e., tendencies toward individualism and collectivism) to trust in context of the work place.

Discussion and Implications

Understanding the relationship of individualism and collectivism to interpersonal trust in the workplace has several implications for HRD professionals. First, as HRD professionals tend to serve more and more as change agents and internal consultants within the organization they will find that relationship building is integral in their day to day communications. Consequently,

trust is foundational in those relationships. HRD professionals themselves will have to be cognizant of their workforce's tendencies towards placing emphasis on varying components of trust based on culture. Nicol (1994) suggested that individuals with collectivist tendencies will place a higher emphasis on relationships. In addition, as Shaffer and O'Hara suggested, in-group membership is key to individuals with collectivistic tendencies. Thus, HRD professionals will have to identify the implications of these findings into their day-day roles. The success of each role that HRD professionals find themselves performing (e.g., instructional designer, trainer, change agent etc) relies on the HRD professional's ability to establish trust in their relationships with both internal and external clients. The blurring global lines and multinational workforces existing in business and industry today further illustrate the need to apply these principles or findings. That is, studying the cultural dimensions of employees in a multinational organization is an attempt to make the best multinational uses of varying employee disposition (Davison, 1994).

Second, therefore, HRD will then need to take into consideration such culturally based preferences when developing project teams, working in temporary work teams as well as when dealing with global managers. Team development and management development will need to include awareness around such varying cultural tendencies in relation to trust. This awareness can potentially be brought to bear in expatriate training, education around internal communication, as well as the aforementioned team and management development workshops, especially with those teams and managers functioning at the global level.

Finally, changing organizational structures, in particular the rise in virtual work spaces and teams, joint ventures, and mergers and acquisitions require HRD professionals to incorporate principles of culture. Specifically, they must turn to the cultural variances in trust when looking to establish and maintain trust in these dynamic organizational forms and settings, especially in a global marketplace. Schurr and Ozannem (1985) suggested trust leads to "a constructive dialogue and co-operation in problem-solving, facilitates goal clarification, and serves as a basis of commitment to carry out agreements (pp.9)." Kramer (1999) noted that trust must be conceptualized as a social orientation toward other people and toward society. Consequently, HRD professionals must understand the cross-cultural implications of trust both within and between organization, especially in such unstable environments as that of recently merged or acquiesced corporate cultures. In order for such partnerships to be successful employees must feel a sense of trust with their work group, their manager, and the organization as a whole. In attempting to maximize performance and human potential of such employees, HRD professionals will need to be knowledgeable of the relationship between culture and trust amongst work related values; for it is these work related values that will ultimately influence the productivity and performance of an organization.

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